-- ATTENTION MR. HOOVER - 2 --

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT Tacoma, Washington. JOURNAL TO BE MADE AT ORIGINATING OFFICE ONLY

REPORT MADE AT:	DATE WHEN MADE:	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:	REPORT MADE BY:
Tacoma, Wash.	2/8/24	2/5/24	T. N. HENRY RET

TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:

T.W.W. GENERAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE I.W.W. Activities.

FACTS DEVELOPED:

AT CENTRALIA, WASHINGTON: Tacoma File #D-511

-- BEGINNING THIS CASE --

Agent being in Centralia, Washington, on other business on February 5th instant and in conference with Mayor George Barner of that city, had his attention called to a circular letter and pamphlet which he (the mayor) had received by mail, the stationery of the circular letter being headed:

GENERAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE
Harry Feinberg, Secretary
1001 WEST MADISON STREET
CHICAGO, ILL.

61-1225

and the cover of the pamphlet being as follows:

ALL [illegible] CONTAINED
DATE 10/25/82 BY SpcBja/Bwz

RECORDED & INDEXED FEB 21 1924
DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

FILE NO. 61-1225-8

BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FEB 14 1924
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

ROUTED TO: HOOVER

FILE

GENE[illegible]
FEB 13
DIVISI[illegible]

REFERENCE:

COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: BUREAU 2- Seattle 1- Portland
San Francisco 1 - Los Angeles 1- Chicago 1- Boise 1
Salt Lake 1- FILE.

THESE ARE
THE FACTS!

:The Truth About the :
:Attempted Mob Out- :
:rage in Centralia,on:
:Armistice Day,1919. :

In the State of Washington 8
Workingmen Have Been Sent
to Prison for from 25 to 40
Years For the Crime of Defending
Their Hall from a Mob.

------- Published by -------
GENERAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE
1001 W.Madison St.,Chicago,Ill.

This circular and pamphlet, inclosed as first class mail in a Manila, end-opening envelope 5½"x7½", bearing return 1001 W. Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois, was mailed at Chicago, as shown by the postmark, on February 1, 1924.

The date, salutation, body and signature of the circular are as follows:

Jan. 31st, 1924

Dear Friend:

Society is curiously illogical in dealing with people it puts into prison. Some San Francisco newspaper, in discussing a famous California case, has pointed out that it is often easier to get a guilty man out of prison than it is to free an innocent man. Even where a serious crime has been committed, the public indignation eventually becomes softened; and after a lapse of time it is possible to spread a sentiment that the convicted one has been punished enough and that no good can come of confining him any longer.

But in the case of an innocent man all the forces which combine to put him into prison now combine to keep him there, for those responsible do not want to admit they committed a wrong.

This reasoning is born out conclusively in the Centralia case, which centers about the conviction of eight I.W.W. members for the killing of a leader of a mob which invaded the I.W.W. hall in Centralia on Armistice Day, 1919. These eight workers are in the state penitentiary at Walla Walla. They were sentenced to serve from twenty-five to forty years.

Six of the jurors who convicted the defendants have admitted under oath that they brought in a verdict of "guilty" because they dared not acquit; that they were influenced by the mob atmosphere which constantly prevailed in the courtroom and in the streets of Montesano, where the trial was held. Some of them have gone so far as to say that they had reason to believe that the whole jury would be lynched if they did not convict.

Even in the face of this atmosphere of terror several of the jurors who did not believe the defendants guilty tried to soften the verdict. That was evident to those who witnessed the courtroom procedure. All of the men on trial were accused of conspiracy to commit murder in the first degree and with the commission of that plan; but the jury found the workers guilty of second degree murder, which means unpremeditated killing. Obviously if there was no premeditation, there could be no conspiracy. Attached to the verdict was a recommendation by the jury for leniency, but Judge John Wilson ignored that plea and dealt out the full penalty prescribed by the law.

Warren Grim, a lieutenant who had seen service guarding supplies at Vladivostok, was the man on whose death the indictment was based. He was local commander of the American Legion. Wesley Everest, member of the I.W.W. and ex-service man, was pursued by the mob, strung up twice, bayoneted in the open streets, unsexed, dragged behind an automobile, lynched the third time and shot full of holes. No legal action was taken against those responsible for this inhuman crime.

Dr. Frank Bickford, one of the marchers in the parade testified, "When the parade stopped in front of the I.W.W. hall I offered to lead a raid if enough would follow but others pushed ahead of me, forced open the door ---- and then the shots came." The I.W.W. had been warned that their hall would be raided on Armistice Day, had asked for police protection and were denied it. Chief of Police Hughes, however, is purported to have said, "The I.W.W. is doing nothing wrong in Centralia -- is not violating any law and you have no right to drive them out in this manner."

The General Defense Committee contends that these men had a legal and moral right to protect their hall. It is no more right for a

I.W.W. GENERAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE

Centralia mob to invade an I.W.W. hall than it is for an I.W.W. mob to invade a meeting place of the American Legion, The Elks or any organization whose opinions differ with others. The question involved is one that concerns every man, woman and child in this country and particularly working class organizations.

In reply to a telegram from the General Defense Committee, Governor Hart publicly announced that he would not grant our request that these workers should be pardoned. However, we believe that if the governor is convinced that the majority of the people in Washington favor the release of these men he can be moved as was President Coolidge in the cases of the political prisoners.

We want to see that the enclosed pamphlet is put in the hands of every person in the state of Washington. In order to do this and circulate subsequent pamphlets and leaflets, funds are necessary.

Your name has been suggested as one who would be willing to co-operate. Can we depend on you to help us in this campaign? Send whatever you can afford and have others do likewise. Have them put their names and amounts on the back of this letter and we shall forward them a receipt. Send us immediately names and addresses of other persons who believe in civil rights.

Confident of your support in this worthy cause, we are

Sincerely yours,

GENERAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE

(Rubber stamp sig.) Harry Feinberg
Secretary

HF-CC

Mayor Barner advised agent that he had been told that a large number of Centralia residents had received this circular and pamphlet. An interview with Postmaster H. L. Bras, Centralia, revealed the fact that a large number of similar pieces of mail had been delivered or were awaiting delivery through his Postoffice. Agent requested both Mayor Barner and Postmaster Bras to secure additional copies of this literature for this office in case they found persons who have received it and are willing to turn it in.

I.W.W. GENERAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE

Agent deemed it probable that the Bureau will be supplied from elsewhere with copies of this pamphlet and, having but one copy in possession, is retaining same for his file.

Copies of this report are being forwarded to the offices named for information.

-- MATTER OPEN --

1924

61-122

Los Angeles, Calif., March 29th, 1924.

Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

Gentlemen:

The writer, at Los Angeles, received the enclosed pamphlet in an envelope, the top of which is also enclosed. This literature speaks for itself, and they are probably mailing out Fifty Million Dollars worth of this literature every year.

For personal reasons the writer does not care to give any name or address.

Very respectfully,

"A United States Citizen"

RM

DATE 10/20/82 BY Sp6 Bja/bwy

RECORDED & INDEXED

61-1225-19
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
APR 4 1924 A.M.
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
CUNNINGHAM | FILE

APR 9 - 1924

APR -5 1924
J. E. C.

61-1225-79

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/25/82 BY

The I. W. W. is the natural outcome of present economic conditions.

Such employers as think that they must amass millions, even though women and children have to go hungry, hate us.

Lots of fair-minded, decent, citizens who know nothing about us, except the lies they have read in the papers controlled by Big Business, are prejudiced against us.

If there had been no exploitation, if our railroads, power companies, and the oil trusts, as well as the large lumber interests—after stealing all the natural resources which belong to you and us—had been satisfied to be just reasonably rich and have every conceivable comfort, instead of being determined to amass billions at the expense of those who toil, the I. W. W. would not be very strong.

If the large employers in their lust for profits had not employed the workers unreasonable hours at small wages, under the most unsanitary conditions, and driven them so hard that the ordinary man when middle-aged is so completely broken down that he has to go on the scrap heap and become a subject of direct or indirect charity, there would not be much of an I. W. W. in the United States of America.

If our Supreme Court had not nullified the Child Labor Law at the behest of Wall Street; if the big shipping interests had not owned government officials, body soul and spirit, so as to ma

They tell you that we are shiftless, thriftless, scum, and yet again, strange to say, all officers of the law express their surprise that among the thousands of I. W. W.'s who have been arrested because they tried to better their conditions and demanded sanitary surroundings, reasonable hours, and living wages, they rarely find one who is not decently clad, sober, and with money in his pocket.

The I. W. W. furnish less than one-hundredth of one per cent of the men and women who are arrested for minor or larger infractions of the law.

Among the tens of thousands of women who belong to this organization not one has ever been found in a Red Light District.

The I. W. W. is frankly a revolutionary organization—revolutionary in the sense that they believe with Abraham Lincoln that "The best government is that government which secures as nearly as possible to the worker the full product of his toil."

They are revolutionary in that they believe that a complete change is necessary in order to bring about a real civilization and to lead us back to those principles of justice under which this government was established.

The I. W. W. are revolut

demand that the invisible govern-
describes it) be swept out
and our hands,

members of the I. W. W. gather five times a week, can be equalled anywhere in the United States.

We are neither pro- nor anti-religious.

Some of our members, like the writer, yield to no man in reverence for the name of Jesus Christ.

Others, confounding a partly prostituted church and Christianity, have turned scoffers.

Others, like in every non-religious society, cannot make Geology and Genesis rhyme.

No anti-religious propaganda is ever tolerated in an official I. W. W. meeting.

In our papers, which are not binding official organs but rather open forums, you may occasionally see either side of the question discussed.

The I. W. W. is not unpatriotic.

If you want to spell patriotism "PAY;" if you want to prostitute the flag of this country by waving it in the face of every reform movement and scare the workers into meek submission to those dollar-a-year profiteers who stole billions under the guise of loyalty to the count Oil and other scandals!) then indeed we a

If patrio

¶ We are compelled to mail these from out of the city as the authorities well knowing that nothing in this leaflet can be contradicted and that the people of this State, if they knew the truth, would not stand for the vicious persecution and imprisoning of innocent workingmen without lawful warrant, will seize these leaflets here in Los Angeles.

Why and What Is

the LaFollette Act a mere scrap of paper; if Attorney General Daugherty, with the assistance of Judge Wilkerson, had not put over the most INFAMOUS injunction ever passed by any court anywhere on the globe against the railroad workers, the I. W. W. would not have so many members.

These are some of the reasons why we have the I. W. W., and it does not matter what is done, how many may be killed by artificially incited mobs, how many will be driven from pillar to post on account of their convictions, and whether the Powers That Be in the State of California, in meek obedience to an arrogant master class, allow themselves to be made the tools in railroading our members to prison, the I. W. W. is here and will continue to be here until the cause for its existence is removed.

As long as we have monkey dinners and dinnerless children, those who are the parents of these dinnerless children will look for a remedy.

As long as we have poodle dogs with special servants and fifteen thousand dollar diamond necklaces, while hundreds of thousands of babies die each year at or shortly after birth, because the mothers who carried them were under-nourished, you cannot stop these mothers and their husbands from looking for a change of a system under which such things are possible.

As long as train loads of vegetables and other supplies are dumped into our bays and rivers in order to artificially maintain high prices, while according to a capitalistic medical board 27 per cent of the school children in the richest city in the world—New York City—are under-nourished (in plain English, half starved), you will not be able to convince the parents of these children that the PROFIT system which brings about such conditions has not ceased to function for the race.

That is Why we have the I. W. W.

What is this I. W. W. which is here with us whether we like it or not, as a result of such conditions as above described?

To begin with—IT IS A LABOR UNION, composed exclusively of WAGE WORKERS.

The letters "I. W. W." do not stand, as our enemies would like to have you believe, for "I Won't Work," but for "Industrial Workers of the World," and workers they are—all its members—and industrious, sober, workers besides.

They try to tell you that there are just a few of us and we are just agitators—that we don't work—but strange to say, when those few agitators went on strike in San Pedro all shipping stopped.

They tell you that we are violent and disorderly, and again, strange to say, when 3,000 of our members were on strike in San Pedro for a month nothing disorderly occurred among all these idle men.

revolutionary because they

ment (as ex-President Wilson in his New Freedom so fitly

of power and that the control of our destinies get back into your

where it belongs.

The I. W. W. does not only believe in a political government of the People, by the People, and for the People; it does not only believe in political democracy, but it believes in INDUSTRY of the People, by the People, and for the People.

The I. W. W. is revolutionary because it does not think there is anything sacred about the present profit system and that the present wage slavery (so clearly foretold sixty years ago by Abraham Lincoln, that great exponent of REAL Americanism) any more so than chattel slavery or the feudal system were sacred.

Both had to give way to something better in due course of time. And we believe that the time is near when the present profit system will be replaced by a co-operative workers' commonwealth.

To place it all in a nut-shell: The I. W. W. is a voluntary association of wage workers banded together in a peaceable, orderly way, to improve their present conditions, willingly to make any sacrifices so that the next generation may see an end of child labor, an end of slavery, an end of poverty, drunkenness and moral degeneracy.

The I. W. W. uses three means to accomplish its purpose: Education, more education, and still more education.

The I. W. W., believing that the end of the system is near, tries to thus educate and organize the workers so that when the present system ceases to function, becomes bankrupt, and will have to pass into the receivership of all the people, that the workers of the world (NOT THE ORGANIZATION CALLED THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD) may be able to intelligently carry on production and look after the welfare of the human race.

Space prevents us from going more into detail. We want to tell you some things which the I. W. W. is not. The I. W. W. is not political or anti-political. Some of our members vote; most do not. We have no quarrel with the government because we believe it belongs to us and that we are part of it. We do have a very serious quarrel with those Wall Street pirates who have stolen your and our government and are using it for their private profit.

If we can, we are not only going to stop these thieves from taking any more but make them give back to us that government which belongs to you and us and of which you and we are a part.

The I. W. W. is not a religious movement, although the only place in the United States where you will still find the old-time revival spirit of joy and sacrifice is in an I. W. W. meeting.

We do not believe that the zeal, fervor and devotion, peace and quiet determination which you find on Liberty Hill in San Pedro, where between 500 and 4,000

ery, (think of the Teapot Dome Oil and other
re not patriotic.

tism means selling spruce, which was from eight to twenty dollars a before the war, to our government in a period of national danger at from ighty-five to one hundred and thirty dollars a thousand, an average increase of over 700 per cent, and then call those workers traitors who wanted a clean bed, clean food, and an increase of 50 per cent in wages to offset the increased cost of living at least partly, while the boss was getting an increase of 700 per cent for the material they produced, then we are not patriotic.

But if that man is a patriot whose consideration of his fellowmen is not limited by any imaginary line, or any body of water, and who, at the same time realizes that he owes a special duty to that part of the world in which he is living (in your and our case—the United States of America), and who works unselfishly without regard to his own comfort, yea, even his safety or life, for the greatest good of the greatest number of that country (for us, the United States of America) then indeed we defy you to show us any better patriots than the membership of the I. W. W.

The I. W. W. are not given to violence or destruction of property. In fact we have come into existence as a protest against violence. Collier's Weekly, more opposed to us and our doctrines than most any other magazine in this country, had to acknowledge last fall in their columns that the I. W. W. was the most constructive, if not the only constructive labor organization in the United States.

Of the ninety-nine men who are today at San Quentin and Folsom, not one has even been accused of committing or advocating violence. The only crime of which they have ever been accused was the same offense with which they charged the great Nazarene with—HE STIRRETH UP THE PEOPLE.

As to this crime, we plead willingly guilty. We have stirred up the people; we are stirring up the people; and we shall continue to stir up the people, and hope that this little pamphlet will help to stir you up to look around you and see the poverty, crime, and shame, which mars the universe and bestir yourself with us that they may disappear and justice, peace, and plenty take their place.

During the last ten months, out of ninety-two men tried on trumped-up charges of Criminal Syndicalism only eleven men got convicted in such counties which were small enough that our means made it possible to tell our side of the story. None of the ninety-nine men in prison today or of the eighteen out on bonds who have appeals pending have ever been accused of personally doing or saying anything unlawful.

For this reason it has been found impossible to find juries to convict where the truth has been made known.

This is the reason for the infamous Busick court injunction which will make it possible to send union men to jail for six months without giving them a chance to defend themselves or even to be heard in their own behalf.

To counteract this, funds for publicity are urgently needed. Los Angeles Office, California Branch General Defense, Industrial Workers of the World, Box 1013, Los Angeles, California.

---

the I. W. W.

?

And What the I.W.W. Is Not

Equity Printing Co., Seattle, Washington

CASH RECEIVED AND DISBURSED FOR MONTH OF JANUARY, 1924

RECEIPTS

I. W. W. General Office	$ 220.40
General Defense Committee	500.00
Industrial Pioneer	814.21
Tie Vapauteen	468.06
Croatian paper	83.75
Jedna Velka Unie	114.91
Hungarian paper	365.32
Solidarity	831.85
California Defense Committee	49.54
Spanish paper	252.55
Italian paper	410.21
Small I. U.'s	5.15
M. & M. W. I. U. No. 440	90.00
M. & M. W. I. U. No. 440 branch	10.00
O. W. I. U. No. 230	28.35
A. W. I. U. No. 110 branch	27.40
M. T. W. I. U. No. 510	14.80
M. T. W. I. U. No. 510 branch	6.10
L. W. I. U. No. 120	643.00
I. U. No. 310	70.76
Bulgarian paper	77.82
Russian paper	173.23
Reliable press	4.25
A. Anderson	4.00
Harry Clayton	1.00
Robert Russell	1.50
J. J. Gutstadt & Co.	8.00
Fred Bowerman	.10
L. Kartachuck	13.10
Jos. Wagner	2.68
Justus Ebert	2.14
Albert Anz	4.56
Cash sales	1.20
Inlander Steindler Paper Co.	1.75
Petty cash check No. 309	100.00
Total Receipts	$5,401.69

DISBURSED

Paper	$ 460.75
Rent	200.00
Salary	3,031.53
Cuts	237.92
Cleaning windows	24.00
Supplies	59.37
Miscellaneous expenses	85.50
Office supplies	3.05
Repairs	23.25
Notes payable	180.00
Machinery Supply account	20.76
Metal	30.80
Ink	27.68
Express	3.50
Machinery account	200.00
Light and power	102.89
Electrical supplies	4.40
Telephone and telegram	4.96
Interest	8.77
Outside labor	139
Harry Clayton, refund	1.
Petty cash, Nos. 251, 309	100.00
Total Disbursed	$4,949.53

Cash on hand January 1, 1924	$1,410.57
Cash Receipts for Jan., 1924	$5,401.69
	$6,812.26
Cash disbursed for Jan., 1924	$4,949.53
Cash on hand Feb. 1, 1924	$1,862.73

PAID OUT IN SALARIES FOR MONTH OF JANUARY, 1924

J. Meisner	$ 124.83
Clara Jaeckle	22.20
Frances Jaeckle	97.38
Josie Nagler	102.36
Alma Gutzmer	130.00
Sol Epstein	210.00
W. E. Sutherland	202.25
Louis Maretich	229.20
Victor Triano	111.83
Rino Profili	123.09
A. Santoni	211.86
R. T. Hardy	161.33
Art Miller	121.03
Tom Cesar	210.00
James Lance	128.00
Michael Sapper	115.07
James Kelly	128.00
Geo. Williams	81.45
Dan Pellettiere	167.74
Edw. C. Flynn	177.16
Henry Aho	36.75
Albert Anz	140.00
Total	$3,031.53

ACCOUNTS RECEIVABLE FEBRUARY 1, 1924

	Debit	Credit
Albert Bialko	$ 34.50	
California Defense Committee	183.42	
Croatian paper	73.13	
Equity Prtg. & Typesetting Co.	12.03	
General Defense Committee	2,817.45	
J. J. Gutstadt & Co.	16.00	
Matt Hill	4.75	
Hungarian paper	151.41	
Hungarian branch	19.12	
I. W. W. General Office	3,211.30	
Industrial Pioneer	617.05	
Italian paper	70.07	
Italian Defense Committee	27.36	
I. X. L. Printing Co.	26.75	
Jedna Velka Unie	134.15	
Laurie Jankanen	6.00	
Emily Kaiyala	1.50	
Lakeview Weekly Topics	175.50	
Leyden Township News	6.00	
Labor World Press	5.20	

P

ssian paper	89.72	
ussian branch	4.00	
Solidarity	194.75	
Spanish paper	548.23	
A. Torek	9.50	
A. W. I. U. No. 110	11.10	
A. W. I. U. No. 110 branch	6.22	
L. W. I. U. No. 120	3.02	
M. C. M. W. I. U. Nos. 210-220	12.55	
O. W. I. U. No. 230	6.72	
B. C. W. I. U. No. 330	97.39	
T. W. I. U. No. 410 branch	6.76	
M. & M. W. I. U. No. 440	255.09	
M. & M. W. I. U. No. 440 br.	54.55	
F. W. I. U. No. 460	252.83	
M. T. W. I. U. No. 510	94.96	
R. R. W. I. U. No. 520	203.80	
R. R. W. I. U. No. 520 branch	3.13	
Small I. U.'s		3.18
Tie Vapauteen	330.71	
Y. M. H. A.	178.88	
	$9,956.60	$ 3.18

Total Debits $9,956.60
Total Credits 3.18

Balance $9,953.42

Accounts Receivable O. K. according to General Ledger, February 1, 1924.

ACCOUNTS PAYABLE FEBRUARY 1, 1924

	Debit	Credit
Advance Engraving Co., Inc.	$	$ 23.39
American Printers Roller Co.		4.20
Bermingham & Prosser		254.38
Cleveland Folding Machine Co.		157.73
Commonwealth Edison Co.	150.00	
Horders Stationery Stores		5.65
Mergenthaler Linotype Co.		4.20
Mergenthaler Linotype Co., Machinery account		2,945.00
Geo. H. Morrill & Co.		41.15
Miehle Prtg. Press & Mfg. Co.		4.20
Remington Jensen Paper Co.		47.96
Walter P. Spry	100.00	
Stein Bros. & Co.		67.25
Swigart Paper Co.		336.49
John Swanson & Co.		4.20
Whiteside & Wentworth	500.00	
The Whitaker Paper Co.		1,150.09
	$ 750.00	$5,045.89

Total Credits $5,045.89
Total Debits 750.00

Balance $4,295.89

Accounts Payable O. K., according to General Ledger, February 1, 1924.

61-12

Financial Statement

of the

Equity Printing & Typesetting Co.

For the Month of
January, 1924

61-122

Is any Printing Union Card worth while?

— Not unless it's the Right Kind

Not for many a year has the standing of the organized printing crafts been as low as it is right now; and the prospect is that "The worst is yet to come". No wonder that hundreds of members of these twenty or more craft-unions are asking themselves whether it is really worth while to carry their cards any longer.

It is now over a year since the country-wide 44-hour strike was called. Every member of the printing trade unions knows that this strike was forced upon them by the employers who had solemnly promised in black and white, two years before, to grant the shorter week May 1st, 1921, and who shamelessly and without even an attempt to justify themselves repudiated their promise when that time came. You printing workers have always been taught by your chosen leaders to place the sacredness of contracts above every other consideration. For the sake of your sacred contracts you have time and again stayed on the job when your brother workmen in an allied trade were on strike, and so helped to break their strike. For the sake of the same most holy scraps of paper you have subjected yourselves and your families to almost starvation conditions (as when, during the wartime period of abnormally inflated prices, you were kept bound to wage agreements based on 1913 living costs.). Well, now you know just how "sacred" a contract is to your employers when it suits their purpose to break one. We trust the lesson will sink in too deep ever to be forgotten.

The end of the first year since the allied printing trades called the strike finds that all but one—the typographical union—have dropped out of the struggle. Thee typos, fighting alone, have already expended over EIGHT MILLION DOLLARS in strike benefits and there is still no promise of victory. Every member not involved has been assessed from 5 to 10 percent of his earnings (10 percent the greater part of time) and still the cry from the well-paid union officials is "Pay, pay pay!" The member is told no more about the actual situation than it suits those same officials to let him know, but it is no secret that the union has lost heavily everywhere. In many large cities the industry has gone over bodily to the open shop and in others, like Chicago, numerous large and important plants have done so. We repeat, is it any wonder that everywhere members of the once proud and prosperous I. T. U. are asking wherein they are any better off than the nonunion workmen, who at least do not have to bear the burden of supporting a small army of extravagant and useless officials and organizers?

It is a notorious fact the 44-hour week was practically won in 1919 by the "outlaw" printing strike in New York. (If it had been won there it would unquestionably have become effective throughout the nation, for New York is the keystone of the industry). When the "outlaw" workers had victory in plain sight, the bosses called in their good ds, the international union officials, who drove the strikers back to work under the old conditions by threat of revoking their charter, and to console them, waved under their noses this precious agreement of the employers, to put the shorter week into effect in 1921.

By the way, one of these noble presidents, Mr. Scott of the I. T. U., who was retired from office at the next election of the unions has not gone back to work at the case. They say he is handling contracts involving several hundred thousands of dollars out in Colorado.

Another of them, Major Berry, has succeeded in virtually ruining the organization of the pressroom workers. When he fell under suspicion of misusing union funds (a charge since sustained in court), certain of the most important locals refused to pay any more per capita to international headquarters until the scandal was cleared up. The gallant Majah retaliated by taking up their charters, and now the unions are split in two and wholly ineffective.

Unionism is also nearly down and out, among the electrotypers, stereotypers, lithographers, photo-engravers, bindery crafts and all the other subdivisions of the graphic art.

This is what has happened to what was once regarded as the most powerfully organized of industries from a craft union viewpoint. A fine showing, is it not? Well you may ask, "Is my union card worth what it costs me?"

It is beginning to be fairly apparent that YOUR kind isn't.

But don't jump to the conclusion that all Unionism is worthless. Without some form of organization labor is helpless and your printing craftsmen would soon be reduced to the level of the wretched slaves of the steel mills and would be compelled to work as long hours, for as low wages, and under whatever conditions your masters saw fit to dictate.

You have simply got the wrong kind of union to cope with present-day capitalism. That is all. It might have been useful once, but "Them days is gone forever".

Several remedies are proposed for the present deplorable state of things in printing trades-unionism. One is to "clean house"—turn the grafters out of office and elect "progressives". But when that is tried, it is invariably found that the "progressive" is a bird whose sole ideas of "Progressivism" is to "progress" himself into the fat job the other guy is holding. Ask any wideawake member of Chicago's "progressive" typographical union local. When No. 16 last year was overwhelmingly in favor of a strike for a decent wage (and conditions were favorable for success) the "progressive" local administration supported the international officers (including a "progressive" president) in forcing arbitration upon them—arbitration before a capitalist lawyer, paid by the union $50.00 a day for his services!

As if a workingman needed to call in an arbitrator from the silk-stocking class to tell him whether his wages are sufficient to decently support his family!

Then another suggestion is "closer affiliation", and that won't do, because of the mutual distrust and suspicion that have grown up among the crafts by reason of years of mutual scabbery. The stronger unions are afraid they might have to carry the burden of the weaker ones. The weaker ones fear they would be imposed upon by the stronger. The bond of "closer affiliation" would be nothing but a rope of sand.

Third, it was half-heartedly proposed at the last typographical union convention that the I. T. U. as the largest, should take in the others and so constitute the one union in the industry. To this the same objection exists. The typos have been schooled to a selffish craft psychology that forbids them to make common cause with, say, a low-paid bindery girl—while the weaker brethren look at the dues and assessments of from $4.00 to $10.00 a week that the I. T. U. members have been handing over for the past year, and say, "No thank you, kind sirs".

The one and only solution to the printshop workers' problem is supplied by Industrial Unionism as exemplified in the Industrial Workers of the World. Sooner or later they will have to come to it—or go under. And unless they come soon they WILL go under—in the abyss of industrial slavery.

The Industrial Workers of the World propose One Big Union of all wage earners employed in any manner in the industry of printing and publishing. That means writers, compositors, (including linotype and monotype operators, proofreaders, copyholders, and unskilled composing room labor-, pressmen and press feeders, electrotypers, stereotypers, photo-engravers, lithographers, and all persons engaged in any capacity connected with the distribution of printed matter. This One Big Union would be linked up indissolubly with similar unions in all other industries in the One Big Union of Unions, the Industrial Workers of the World. The common motto would be "An injury to one is an injury to all".

Only so can labor, skilled or unskilled, combat the One Big Union of capitalists.

You all know that the 44-hour issue was seized on as an excuse to introduce the open shop—i. e., the destruction of all Unionism. The United banking, commercial and industrial capitalists stood solidly behind the employing printers—in many cases, coerced unwilling employers to get into line. In the matter of solidarity the capitalist class always puts the workers to shame. How else than by the same solid front can labor hope to hold its own against the Industrial Capitalists of the World?

Such a union as above described is already in existence—Printing and Publishing Workers' Industrial Union No. 450 of the I. W. W.

It takes in every wage worker employed in the industry irrespective of craft, skill, or any other consideration.

Instead of the enormous initiation fees, and dues to which you are accustomed its initiation fee is $2.00 and its monthly dues 50 cents.

It has no high paid officials, nor will it every pay any one employed by it one penny more than he would receive at his trade.

It will tranfer its members without cost into the unions of any other industries under the sun which they desire to work in.

It will have nothing to do with arbitration, time agreements, or any other of the snares the workers have fallen into in times past.

It preaches no nonsense about harmony between labor and capi It declares frankly that the wage system is robbery, and its ultimate aim is to abolish that system by taking possession of the industry in the name of the workers—acting in unison with the workers of all other industries, to establish a society owned, administered and enjoyed by the workers alone.

Read carefully the Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World contained in this leaflet. If you are employed in any way in the printing industry you belong in No. 450. Communicate with General Headquarters, 1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill., for further information and literature. Or if you are already convinced, any delegate of any industrial Union of the I. W. W. will line you up upon payment of $2.00 initiation and 50 cents for one month's dues. You need not surrender your craft card. A paid-up craft card will entitle you to the membership in the I. W. W. without forfeiting the former. Why not do it today?

PRINTING AND PUBLISHING WORKERS' I. U. No. 450
1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

PREAMBLE OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace as long as hunger and want are found among millions of the working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the everyday struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

Department of Justice,
Bureau of Investigation.
Box 163 - Seattle, Wash.

PO May 7, 1924

-12205

Wm. J. Burns, Director
Department of Justice
Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

ATTENTION:
MR. HOOVER - 2

Dear Sir:

I am attaching herewith a list of IWW headquarters thruout the country, said list being headed - "Where You Can Join the IWW".

For the information of the Bureau.

Yours very truly,

H.L. SCOTT.
Agent in Charge

Inc - 1

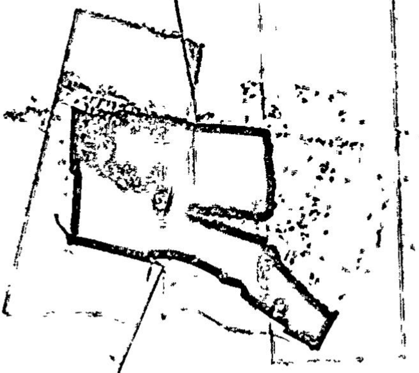
RECORDED & INDEXED
MAY 15 1924

DATE 10/25/82

61-1225-80

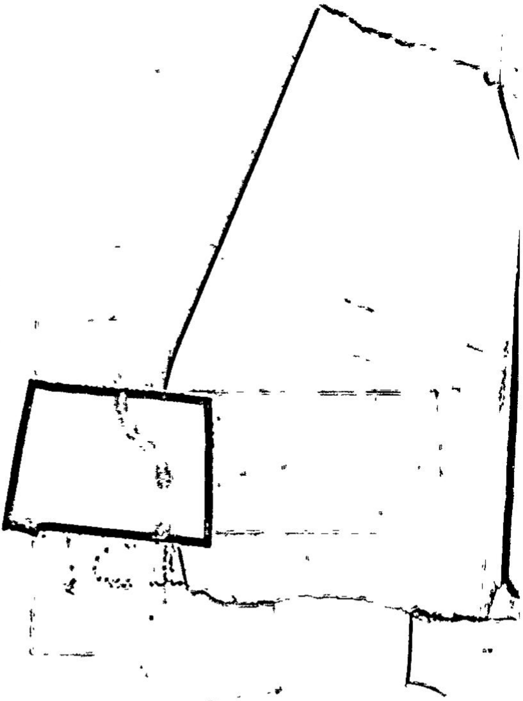
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
MAY 12 1924 A. M
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
HOOVER FILE

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE
MAY 12 1924
ISION



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/25/82 BY

61-1225



61-1225-80

not employ
hould come
ed with the
lt with the

nd jury:
n, to ques-
e structure
ries of bol-
rity of our
nwholesome
official acts
nd positive

as shown
15,000 to
the league
ng is more
ife's battle,
gue report.
ty because
ng-Coolidge

Oil Com-
of John
per cent
any. The
company
promise is

loys 17,000
trike unless
his Ludlow
pany union,
il Co. The
s" they say

, they wrote
brotherhood
st of bosses
at he had a
comment of

er of Bunkie,
. According
amusing the
oise disturbed
fant, threw it
her interfered
the prostrate
stabbed her

o a neighbor's
ed of the re-
, "I could not
ich led to the

en are treated
red the atmo-

be celebrated
des Assembly,
f all locals in
es to recognize

HE
Worker

Where You Can Join the I

Town, State, Post Office Box, Street Address, and Man in Charge

At any one of these addresses you can get a card in the Industrial Workers of the World. You can get information and literature, including the latest copies of I. W. W. papers.

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS of the Industrial Workers of the World is at 1001 West Madison St., Chicago.

Headquarters for all industrial unions of the I. W. W. is the same, with the exception of the following:

Metal and Coal Miners' Industrial Unions No. 210-220 of the I. W. W., Box 542, 318 North Wyoming Street, Butte, Montana.

Marine Transport Workers' Industrial Union No. 510 of the I. W. W., Box 69, Sta. D., New York City.

* * *

BRANCHES OF AGRICULTURAL WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION NO. 110 OF THE I. W. W.:

CHICAGO, Ill., 601 West Madison St., Chas. Kolar.
MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., 115 Nicollet Ave., Fritz Rudd.
OMAHA, Nebr., Box 107, 515 N. 16th St., Pat Noonan.

STATIONARY DELEGATES

FRESNO, Cal., General Delivery, Jack O'Dell.
SIOUX CITY, Iowa, Box 64, Albert Burns.

BRANCHES OF LUMBER WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION NO. 120 OF THE I. W. W.:

ABERDEEN, Wash., Box 653, Charles Dunbar.
ASTORIA, Oregon, Box 280, 29 Ninth St., B. A. Avery.
BANGOR, Maine, Box 330, 246 Hancock St., George Crocker.
CENTRALIA, Wash., Box 542, Jas. Cummings.
CRANBROOK, B. C., Box 761, Jack Sampson.
DULUTH, Minn., 8 N. 6th Ave., West, Joe McCarthy.
EUREKA, Cal., Box 91, Ed. Wells.
KLAMATH FALLS, Ore., Box 542, Joe Martin.
MARSHFIELD, Ore., Box 627, C. Benson.
MISSOULA, Mont., Box 730, Dan Paul.
PORTLAND, Ore., Box 3291, 109 Second St., Third floor, John J. Ebbesen.
REEDSPORT, Ore., Box 604, Joe Manning.
RHINELANDER, Wisc., Labor Temple, cor. Anderson & Pelham Sts., C. J. Anderson.
SEATTLE, Wash., Box 365, 512 1-2 Second Ave., O. N. Peterson.
SPOKANE, Wash., Box 1689, 223 North Bernard St., Earl Heikkinen.
TACOMA, Wash., Box 421; 1507 Commerce St., Walter Holland.
VANCOUVER, B. C., 157 Cordova St., West, E. Youngberg.

STATIONARY DELEGATES

BELLINGHAM, Wash., Box 229, Jack Junker.
SEDRO WOOLLEY, Wash., Box 425, Wm. Brown.
GRENVILLE JUNCTION, Maine, Gen. Del., John Marshall.

TRAVELING DELEGATES

EUREKA, Cal., Box 91, J. B. Clark.
LA GRANDE, Ore., Box 501, Wm. Driscoll.
PRINCE GEORGE, B. C., Savoy Hotel, Jack Stewart.
RAYMOND, Wash., Box 353, Clarence Galbreath.

TONOPAH, Nevada, Box 191, Andy Wuoro
WILLISTON, N. D., Labor Hall, George Brehm.

BRANCHES AND DELEGATES OF OIL WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 230, of the I. W. W.

CASPER, Wyo., Box 451, M. J. Anderson.
SAN PEDRO, Cal., Box 546, E. H. Black; Ralph Colescott, 739 W. First St.
TAFT, Cal., Box 212, D. C. Webb.

GENERAL CONSTRUCTION WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 310 OF THE I.W.W.

SUPPLY STATIONS

PORTLAND, Ore., Box 3001, A. Morriss.
SEATTLE, Wash., Box 365, Pete Anderson.
STOCKTON, Calif., Box 754, Ed. Harris.

VOLUNTARY STATIONARY DELEGATES

BILLINGS, Mont., 2622 Minnesota Ave., Geo. Lacey.
RENO, Nev., Box 4063, Erick Frank.
PHOENIX, Ariz., 712 W. Madison St., H. B. Mead.

BRANCHES OF BUILDING CONSTRUCTION WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION NO. 330 OF THE I. W. W.:

BROOKLYN, N. Y., 765 Forty-second St., Kalle Koskinen: 360 Thatford Ave., Mario Maltese.
CHICAGO, Ill., 1001 West Madison St., Sam Nelson.
CLEVELAND, Ohio, 2122 West 53rd St., Hannes Salmi.
JERSEY CITY, N. J., 123 Dwight St., Abel Waaki.
LOS ANGELES, Calif., P. O. Box 334, Arcade Station, Peo Monoldi.
MILWAUKEE, Wisc., 367 Sixth St., Third floor, Ollie Gums.
MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., 115 Nicollet Ave., Fritz Rudd.
NEW YORK CITY, 2036 Fifth Ave., Santeri Maki.
OAKLAND, Calif., P. O. Box 747, Sam Murray.
OMAHA, Nebr., 515 North 16th St., Pat Noonan.
ROCKFORD, Ill., Box 1511 East Rockford Station, Gustave M. Nelson.
SAN FRANCISCO, Calif., Box 755, Emil Schwandt.
SEATTLE, Wash., 512 1-2 Second Ave., Peter Anderson.

BRANCHES OF TEXTILE WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION NO. 410 OF THE I. W. W.

RANCHES OF MARINE TRANSPORT WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 510, of the I. W. W.

ABERDEEN, Wash., P. O. Box 341, O. nsen.
BALTIMORE, Md., Box 26, Paterson Sta., South Broadway, Gorry Wade.
BOSTON, Mass., Box 35, Hanover Sta., North St., S. Thomas.
BROOKLYN, N. Y., 153 Carroll St., T. Gill.
BUFFALO, N. Y., Box 298, 278 Michigan ., P. Sheehan.
CHICAGO, Ill., 126 S. Halsted St., Wm. ton.
EVERETT, Wash., Box 641, Harry Larsen.
FRENCH BRANCH, 13 Place Marceau, La scat, Bourdeaux.
GALVESTON, Texas, 213 1-2 Twenty-sec- St., E. H. McKinley.
MANHATTAN, New York, 12 South St.
MOBILE, Ala., Box 104 Commerce St., er Sepp.
NEW ORLEANS, Ala., 608 Iberville St., Anderson.
NORFOLK, Va., 302 Bank St., Wm. H. kwood.
PHILADELPHIA, Penn., 928 E. Moyamen- Ave., J. J. Walsh.
PORT ARTHUR, Texas, 116 Proctor St., s. C. Dunn.
PORTLAND, Ore., Box 3291, 224 Burnside Jos. Russell.
SAN FRANCISCO, Cal., Box 847, 84 Embadero St., Albin Kulberg.
SAN PEDRO, Cal., Box 546, 291 Twelfth Jos. O'Hagan.
SEATTLE, Wash., 512 1-2 Second Ave., D. Sullivan.
SWEDISH BRANCH, Sodra Folkets Hus, udden, Sweden, C. G. Anderson.
TACOMA, Wash., Box 421, Hector McRae.
VANCOUVER, B. C., 157 Cordova St., st, S. H. Dixon.
HOUSTON, Texas, Box 252, Central Park tion, 75th and Navigation St., Nicholas gent.

BRANCHES OF RAILROAD ORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION . 520 OF THE I. W. W.:

CANTON, Ohio, 1736 Grace Ave., N. E., ar Tipton.
CINCINNATI, Ohio, 1430 Harrison Ave., A. Shoenle.
OGDEN, Utah, Box 911, Ernest McNickol.
WHITEFISH, Mont., Box 486, Frank Fos-

Delegates of 520

ASHTABULA, Ohio, 45 Market St., John i.
CUTBANK, Mont., Gen. Del., Matt. Rogel.
e QUEEN, Ark., R. F. D. No. 3, S. A. ghes.
ESSEX, Mont., Gen. Del., Jim Davis.
GREAT FALLS, Mont., Box 1413, Wm. dschmidt.
KANSAS CITY, Mo., 731 Locust St., W. McKnight.
LAS VEGAS, Nev., Gen. Del., Frank ckstone.
MA, Ohio, 960 South Atlantic Ave., Fred Phalen.
LOS ANGELES, Box 1013, Jack Hall.
McMECHEN, W. Va., Box 599, H. A. ds.
MINOT, N. D., Box 221, E. N. Riordan.
NAMPA, Idaho, Gen. Del., Luis Segura.
PASCO, Wash., Box 128, George K. Chit- d.
TOLEDO, Ohio, 1303 East Miami St., L. Pratt.

STATIONARY DELEGATES

ABERDEEN, Wash., 605 East Market St., nie Sipo.

the p
that t
fishing
them.
A
forced
fishing
white
livelih
T
Caribo
by the
Bar co
and th
Willian
hit pra
Severa

War

W
Zealand
13,697
particip
the 19
about
statistic
class."

Nobod

BO
accordin
traveled
white l
a J. P.
"
"when
filthy,
his shot
than to
"I
strance
never se
feet out
bel nu
"I
that only
and abs

DE
CEL
FINNIS
142
A

CINCIN
Wm. Brir
CLEVE
Helmi He
EAST
Kramer.
NEBRA
Walls.
SEATT
Peter An
SOUTH
Ellis.

et
th
only
the
and
ld a
aine,
the
tend
matter
ganiz
his co
elect
sent
e Croc
Maine.

ICNIC

CH I. U.

TATE RD.,
1924
s— Refresh-

ts

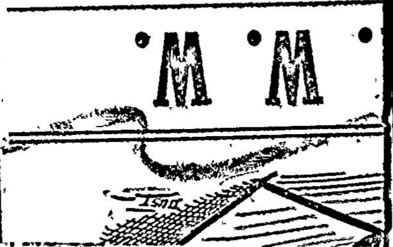
onsider

siness agents
he game-our-

or union poli-
ry while they
own pocket-

tractor or the
cial?
als to feather

of every one
bricklayers,
rkers, or any
have this one
from getting
of life, and
nd to tell us
STOP TO IT.
t as for us, let
Workers' Indus-



The achievement of the I. W in Lawrence was not due to th that it had a new name, but t fact that its fight was conducted lines suggested by the historic velopment of the industry, and rect appraisal of the relationsh isting between the capitalist o of the textile industry and the workers in the mills. The I. W discarded illusions and chose guided by the facts of industry this lies the difference betwee I. W. W. and the old unionism, when the old unionism dresses in new garments, and parades as "independent," "industrial," In the aggressions of the mill the I. W. W. sees a perfectly n and logical development reachin for absolute, autocratic control textile industry. It sees, more an encouragement for the mill ca ists in the fact that they met pra ly no resistance from the wo forces in the industry. Wher when there has been organi they have always been able to these organizations to their ow poses and to use them for thei ends. The I. W. W. is bribe and is so constructed that it can no other interest but the inter the wage workers. This const its "crime" in the eyes of the ca ists. This made it equal to the rence, and is a guarantee that be equal to all future occasi

The I. W. W. is the one thi

ce the
tates;
m of
en of
aniza-
upon
d use.
ust be
es; in
eir ex-

in a
y for
eak a
r the
which
itant-
on ex-
nt in
ecord.
ently
labor,
Law-
ng of

those
mics
, dis-
the
t the
new
from,
nings
n the
ners.
l and
they
ssful-
er de-
eyond
d the
n of
e the
h the
l hos-
urces,
cured
orkers
d the
their
keen-
ambi-
them
s and

W. W.
fact
o the
along
l de-
a cor-
p-ex-
wners
wage
W. W.
o be
In
the
even
itself
itself
etc.
ners

is only an encouragement, crystallization into organization is a task of considerable proportions. Wishes may father thoughts but they need constant and intensive cultivation to breed unions. This is what we may expect when the I. W. W. tackles the textile and other industries in the east. For, when all is said and done, the psychology of the eastern worker is very materially different from that of his fellow worker of the west.

What the Textile Workers Face

For the textile workers, if the owners have their way, the first item on the industrial bill-of-fare is a wage-cut, that is, a cut in the money wage. This proposed wage reduction only appears to be the more severe of the two main proposals, but the installation of the "multiple machine process," whereby the production of individual workers will be multiplied, is really a form of wage-cut far more severe, with infinitely more dangerous and sinister consequences than any straight cut in the money wage, however ~~ad. as could possibly be.~~ To multiply the capacity of the individual workers, where production must necessarily accommodate itself to the limits of the market, is to condemn to idleness, with its attendant discomforts and miseries, those workers for whom the multiple process spells dismissal.

Employers Encouraged by Employees' Unorganized State

That such an inhuman proposal might be entertained for even a passing moment, testifies to a consciousness of power on the part of the mill owners, which reflects the lack of organization among the operatives. There is apparently an intention to sweep over the industry in a campaign of intimidation, which has for its purpose the demoralization of the textile workers. The attempt may succeed and, in the absence of thorough and competent organization, there is every likelihood that it will succeed. The bosses are figuring upon their carefully arranged nationality and language "balance" to act as a preventative to organization. But the best laid plans often get tangled and go awry, and, judging from the sentiment we hear expressed by the language groups, neither race nor language differences will suffice to stem the tide of discontent that is carrying the textile workers toward a common destination—the I. W. W.

Out of The Past

The present situation, as intimated previously, has not been created by a sudden resolution of the textile barons. It has been growing since this first of the household arts found its way into the factories. As long ago as 1833, in a convention of one of the earliest of American unions, it was remarked that "the absence of

parcel of the open shop when the process of wage-cutting—"labor deflation"—extended beyond the boundaries of textiles and included all industries and all industrial workers.

Then, in 1922, there was proposed an additional wage-cut of 20 per cent upon the deflated envelopes of the textile workers. There were strikes in several textile centers, but it was only in Lawrence, Mass., that the then prevailing scale was successfully defended. With the settlement in Lawrence, the terms granted to the workers there were extended to other textile towns and were supposed to have been retroactive.

In 1923, because of the immigration restrictions, the army of the unemployed did not maintain its normal strength, and there were increases in the nominal wage in many industries. This manifested itself in the textile industry in the form of a 10 per cent wage increase. But the textile operatives are resentfully aware that this 10 per cent raise was actually a cut for them. For instance, weavers were introduced to 2 looms who formerly had attended only one. Two looms per weaver after the raise became the rule. From 2 looms the weavers went to the 6-loom system; and now they are "progressing" to where it is proposed to provide them with 40 looms with which to make money—for the mill owners.

Exploitation Plus Robbery

But it was not only the increase in the number of looms that more than offset the raise in the money-wage, but, while the "cuts" remained nominally the same length, there was a gradual increase in their lengths, until as much as 12 yards were woven for which the weavers received no recompense whatever. The extra yards were stolen from them. That is, where a cut was 60 yards weavers were weaving as much as 72 yards, but getting paid for only 60 yards.

There was another system of robbery, just as barefaced and equally contemptible, in the juggling of style numbers. For certain styles specific prices were paid. Some styles paid higher than others. After the "raise" it became the habit of the mill managements to put a low priced style number on the higher priced work, thus stealing from the weavers the difference, in addition to the cheating in the matter of measurement. The raise, in its application, meant a reduction to the weavers.

What is the Future to Be?

The multiple machine process, which is already installed in some mills, means the depopulation of many New England towns. If it becomes general throughout the textile industry it will give rise to the greatest unemployed problem that this or any other country has ever faced. It is

James
Blachford
ler, Gust
Parks, C
W. D. M
thur Ha
Note:-
good sta
Delega
ballots c
120 Mai
envelope
L. W. I.
All ba
fice of I
Madison
than Jun
will be
Adolph
O. C., L

DEFEN
NE

Memb
of Wash
copies o
city, th
Committ
Chicago.
can get
value in
revealing
Please
ments, b

All fell
while wor
ta, Cana
organizat
out crede
ting litera
ary delega
A, 9th A
Canada, e
Don't fo
make it yo
tionary de
glad to gi
mation as t
—Joe Fish

MIDD
C

A confer
in the Mid
1001 West
Sunday, Ma
Branch inv
Pittsburg a
Louis, to c
with them.
Boost and
Branch.

RAILRO

The Chic
will meet o
ters of imp
members w
should atte
called at 2
St. Come

lcolm Mc-

D. Golden.

STRIAL
.W.W.

Torening.

& COAL
NIONS
V. W.

lfred.

1504, 253,

ES
fred.

y, E. W.

BROOKLYN, N. Y., 158 Carrol St., Frank Mayzela.

CHICAGO, Ill., 126 S. Halsted St., Rose Gelb.

NEW BEDFORD, Mass., 955 South Water St., J. C. Mello.

PATERSON, N. J., 12 Cross St., Alex. Daziens.

PHILADELPHIA, 942 North Franklin St., H. Marston.

BRANCHES OF METAL & MACHINERY WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION NO. 440 OF THE I. W. W.:

BETHLEHEM, Penn., 630 Evans St., hall open Sunday 8 p. m., J. Ortiz.

CANTON, Ohio, 2130 Eighth St.; hall open every afternoon and evening.

CHICAGO, Ill. 126 S. Halsted St., Paul Virtes.

CHICAGO HEIGHTS, 1440 Wentworth Av., Adam Santori.

CLEVELAND, Ohio, 809 St. Clair Ave., N. E., Edw. Lloyd.

U

H

Go

G.

Bl

W.

Le

wo

J.

Jer

delegates from the (textile) factory villages gives reason to fear that the operatives are already subdued to the bidding of the employers—that they are already sold to the oppressors, that they have felt the chains riveted upon themselves and their children, and despair of redemption." This description, made nearly one hundred years ago, applies to the textile workers of today and the process by which the workers have been held at relatively the same industrial point has been continuous. The employers have done only what their interest has dictated—they have taken advantage of the circumstances as opportunity was provided. The workers on the other hand have overlooked and neglected to accommodate themselves to changing circumstances—they have not

n of the
anches
. W.

CE A WEEK

and World
Vhere you
r
idarity
x 1857,
ngton
copy; Single
6 months,
$1.

ORKING
ESS

SUDBURY, Ontario, Box 51, M
Gill.

TIMMINS, Ontario, Box 850, J.

FISHERY WORKERS' INDU
UNION No. 130 OF THE

SAN PEDRO, Calif., Box 546, H

BRANCHES OF METAL
MINERS' INDUSTRIAL
No. 210-220, of the I.

APOLLO, Pa., Box 197, John A

BESSEMER, Mich., Box H.

CHISHOLM, Minn., Box 852.

CROSBY, Minn., Box 275.

HIBBING, Minn., Box 65.

SALT LAKE CITY, Utah., Box
West Broadway, Joseph Oates.

VIRGINIA, Minn., Box 372.

STATIONARY DELEGAT

APOLLO, Pa., Box 197, John A

ELY, Nevada, General Delive
Lyman.

local problem by any means, it
ational problem insofar as this
y is concerned, and a labor
n reaching into the farthest
s of the earth. For American
to remain indifferent to a pro-
with such potentially far-reach-
reful consequences, is for Amer-
abor to declare its own spirit-
nkruptcy, and to announce to
orld that it is mentally impover-
and without courage. The I. W.
being here at this time, above
ers, reasserts its right to the
ence and support of the Amer-
orking class. With the building
the I. W. W. the textile work-
ll turn a new page and write
it a record that will embelish
mbre pages of American labor
y.

PIONE

The edit
of the Ind
state that
on page fo
". . . but
still in pris

KAN
CO
REAL
at I
1832
MA
Procee
H
CALI
A

PRIN[illegible] A.

NEGROES --- Defend Yourselves!

FREE YOURSELVES FROM WAGE SLAVERY AND FROM PERSECUTION

By Joining The I. W. W.

Negroes—Fellow Workers:

We, who write this to you, are workingmen and workingwomen, some of us have white skins, some have black, some have yellow, and some are Red American Indians. We have as many colors as laborers have; in our organization there are as many races as work for a living.

When a man comes to join the I. W. W. we never ask him whether he is a Caucasian or a Mongolian or an Ethiopian; we never ask him whether he or his ancestors came from Europe, or Asia or Africa. We ask him, "Do you work for a living? Do you know that workers should unite to get a better living? Do you believe that workers produce all wealth and should get all they produce, leaving none of it for masters, business men, parasites?"

These are the things we are interested in. **We know that we can win strikes, win decent living conditions for ourselves, and short hours of work and good pay, only by uniting all workers, without regard to race, creed, color, or sex, into One Big Industrial Union.** Within that union, every man and every woman is an equal, has equal rights and equal duties, shall own equally the industries, the factories and mines, the land and all its wealth, when capitalism, the rule of the business men and landlords as a master class shall be destroyed, and workers take over industry as their common property.

If you wish to learn more of our plan, read the preamble to the Constitution of the Industrial Workers of the World, printed at the end of this leaflet, and write to General Headquarters of the I. W. W., at 1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill., for literature.

THE I. W. W. AGAINST THE LYNCHERS

You really ought, for your own sake, for the sake of your family and your fellow workingmen, to learn about the I. W. W., and to spread the call of the I. W. W. for organization and industrial action against the little group of masters, who persecute both Negro and White, using race prejudice and inflaming race hatreds to keep us workers separated and helpless.

We don't have to tell you about the **lynchings, averaging over a hundred a year, for the last fifty years.** We don't have to remind you of the horrible brutality of the lynch mobs, how they burn their victim to death slowly, and amuse themselves by poking out his eyes and piling coals in his ears while the flames lick at his feet and legs. You know all about the way a mob adds insult to injury by defaming the character of the man they lynch, accusing him of criminal assault on white women—while at the same time innocent colored boys are suffering from false accusations, thousands and hundreds of thousands, more than that, **millions of Negro girls are raped every year by aristocratic Southern landlords, and no punishment for this foul crime is possible.**

We might multiply case after case, story after story, telling you how Negroes have been burned to death, whipped to death, unspeakably mutilated, for such offenses as attempting to vote on election day, for such crimes as not being polite enough to white business men and planters when they meet them in the road. It would be easy to remind you of Negroes killed in the bitterest, crueliest manner because they jumped their labor contract, which bound them to slavery.

Just one typical example, to remind you of these terrible wrongs. A short time ago a Negro mother, Sarah Cabiness, was burned in her own home at Huntsville, Tex., by a patriotic mob for trying to drag out of the flames the bodies of her four sons, thrown there by the mob, not because they had done anything, but because their brother, a fifth son, was said to be unpatriotic. To show what a glorious thing the love of one's country is, this mob killed and burned Sarah Cabiness' daughter Bessie, though she did not even try to take any of the bodies from the flames.

SLAVERY, PEONAGE AND SERFDOM

The whole world knows of the Williams Murder Farm in Georgia, where the rich landlord, when he thought his Negro slaves were about to run away, killed a dozen of them and buried them head downwards in post holes. This man was convicted of second degree murder, and will soon be released. He would never have been tried at all, if the story had not happened to get into the newspapers. Out of your own knowledge, you can remember many such murders that were never punished.

Negroes of the South: You know how you are enslaved. You know that when they want work, they have laws so drawn that every Negro is guilty of vagrancy, and they just arrest you and sell you out to the plantations, or work you for eleven months and twenty-nine days on the county farms. And the whole world knows now, thanks to the Tabert case, how they flog men to death on these county farms.

Negroes who farm: You know how the plantation owner keeps you tied to the soil. You are in debt to him all the years of your lives, and you never see the accounts, so you never can prove that the debt is paid. You get ten or fifteen dollars a month for the hardest kind of work, from sun-rise to sun-set, and the master comes along and takes all you produce.

Negroes in the factories, on the docks, and in the mills: You realize now the employer pays you lower wages than he pays the other workers, gives you the worst work, and tries to use you as scabs to break the strikes of white workers. You know how the Trade unions close their books to you, refuse to have you as members, how they force you to live in the worst parts of town, how, as in Tulsa, Oklahoma, Chicago, Washington, D. C., East St. Louis, and many other places, great raids were directed against you, and mobs killed and burned in the Negro section of the city without restraint.

THE REASON FOR RACE HATRED

Fellow Workers, let us try not merely to inflame your wrath against these things, but to explain them to you. **It is not the workers of the white race who do this. It is the slavery of both the whites and the blacks which makes all this killing, oppression, and hatred.** The white workers and the black workers are both servants to the business men and the landlords. We work, and the boss gives us enough to live on, and takes everything else away from us. The boss is afraid that all workers will unite together, and refuse to support him any longer, in his idleness and luxury, and wickedness. So he sets up Ku Klux Klans, mobs, lynchings, to keep the two races of workers hating each other. Ignorant white men are inflamed with the stories, the lies, told about the negroes by white bosses who want to see the races fight each other. Wherever possible, the races are divided: separate schools, Jim Crow cars, separate parts of town to live in. Paid agents of capitalism, of the business men, stir up trouble between the black workers and the white.

This whole race-war business is a scheme of the rich white bosses to keep all workers subjected, and enslaved.

AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL

Negro workers: The white workers in the I. W. W. extend the hand of fellowship to you. We ask you, don't scab on us; and we promise you, we will stand by you. We appeal to you, come with us; let us use our economic power to end this misery; let us strike on the job, agitate, organize, and educate all our fellow workingmen, until we have a chance to live decently, until we have leisure, and education, and the full product of our toil.

There is no other way. Voting won't help. It has never helped the white workers who can vote, and the Negro workers can't vote. The government won't help. It breaks the strikes of the white workers, and it has just approved of the lynching of the black workers, by rejecting the Dyer anti-lynching bill.

Garvey can't help. His Black Star Line has failed. His organization is merely a scheme for making Garvey rich. The Master Class of the world owns the African soil. It owns the battleships. It will never permit an African Empire to be established.

Economic power is the only thing that will help us. There are twelve million Negroes in the United States. Unite with the millions of white workers, and we are all powerful. Negro labor scared the white planters half out of their wits when it began to flee from the South. The industries can't run without negro labor. Demand the Right to live, and refuse to work until you get it. That is the I. W. W. way.

Workers of the World, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains, you have a World to gain.

Workers of All Races, unite in the one big union of the I. W. W. and we will take the world for ourselves.

It is ours, and not to slave in, but to master and to own
"When the Union makes us strong."

PREAMBLE OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the everyday struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

Best Copy Available

61-1225-81
1-3670-7

031028

MAY 1 1924

Mr. L. C. Wheeler,
P.O. Box 615,
Los Angeles, Calif.

Dear Sir:

I note from the weekly NewsLetter of the Better America Federation of California for March 11, 1924, that there is contained therein a statement that the I.W.W. has as one of its slogans, "No God, No Flag, No Country". It further states that one of the resolutions declared, "We are the bolshevists of America. We denounce governments, institutions and society. We hail revolution and the destruction of the existing order of things."

A very diligent effort has been made to locate these quotations in the literature of the I.W.W. on file in this Bureau but without any success. I would appre it if you could procure the copy of the original docu from which these quotations have been taken.

Very truly yours,

W.J.B.

Director.

RECORDED &

MAILED
MAY 8 192

10/25/82 SPCE Bja/bmy

M. J. BURNS
DIRECTOR

Department of Justice
Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

081829

HN:JWM

April 23, 1924.

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HOOVER:

With reference to the attached Weekly News Letter of the Better America Federation of California, a search of the periodicals in the Publication Room fails to indicate the source of quotation marked therein. The nearest references that have been ascertained are the following:

Harold Lord Varney, Industrial Communism, the I.W.W. page 23.

> "In the United States, it is the I.W.W. which holds up the Communist banner and battles for the cause of the American Bolsheviki."

and a similar one in the "One Big Union" of May 1920, page 20.

> "The I.W.W. is the American Soviets".

In "Golos Truzhenika" of January 7, 1922.

> "Shatter the belief in all gods, whatever their origin."

It is thought that the quotation appearing in the News Letter is of such a nature that I.W.W. Officials would be extremely careful as to preventing any such expression of opinion from being published, although it probably voices their real sentiments. It may have been found in the records of some smaller sub-division of the I.W.W. or as a part of the statement of individual I.W.W. propagandists.

MAY 1 2 19

The Los Angeles Office could be requested to inquire as to the real source of the quotation in question. Please advise me if you desire this done.

61-

Very truly yours,

encl. 15522

61-1225
5-81

61-3673-

BUREAU
MAY
DEPARTMENT

DATE 10/25/82

Re: I.W. slogans mentioned in the kly News Letter
of the Be er America Federation, March 11, 1924.

In connexion with the quotations mentioned in the Weekly News Letter under the headline " Why be deceived " I only foun the following, approaching nearest those printed in the Lette

Harold Lord Varney, Industrial Communism, the I.W.W
page 23.

> " In the United States, It is the I.W.W.
> which holds up the Communist banner and
> battles for the cause of the American
> Bolsheviki."

and a similar one in the " One Big Union " of May
1920, page 20.

> " The I.W.W. is the American Soviets "

In " Volna " the Russian anarchist monthly of June
1921, page 13.

> " We denounce the institutions, property
> authority and religion."

In " Golos Truzhenika " of January 7, 1922.

> " Shatter the belief in all gods, whatever
> their origin."

Quotations sounding exactly as those in the Letter cou not be located.

SMW.

61-1223

Department of Justice,
Bureau of Investigation.

Post Office Box 615,
Los Angeles, California,
May 14, 1924.

Mr. J. F. Hoover, Acting Director,
Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

With reference to letter from the Director, dated May 8, 1924, initialed JEH/LMR, the Better America Federation of California furnish the following information concerning authority for quotation in Weekly New Letter No. 247, for March 11, 1924:

"No God, No Flag, No Country", - page 243, "If Hamilton Were Here Today", by Arthur Hendrick Vandenberg, T. P. Putnam's Sons, publishers.

"We are the bolshevists of America. We denounce governments, institutions and society. We hail revolution and the destruction of the existing order of things." Same book, page 244. (Quoting from the Short Constitution, by Wade and Russell, reporting resolutions adopted in a New York mass meeting, December 2, 1917.)

. . . .

This office had also studied I.W.W. literature and publications and had never encountered this quotation in any of the I.W.W. publications.

Very truly yours,

LCWheeler

L. C. Wheeler,
Special Agent in Charge

AAH/N

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
[illegible]
DATE 10/26/82 BY

JUN 12 1924

RECORDED & INDEX

61-1223-82

BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
MAY 19 1924 P. M.
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

HOOVER | FILE

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE
MAY 20 -4
DIVISION

OFFICE OF
SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

TELEPHONE, BARCLAY 8160
POST OFFICE BOX 241
CITY HALL STATION

Department of Justice
Bureau of Investigation
15 PARK ROW, 14TH FLOOR
NEW YORK, N. Y.

61-1225

May 21, 1924.

Mr. J. E. Hoover,
Acting Director,
Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

Re: Circular Entitled "Why Not Shorten the Hours?" - I. W. W. Activities

Dear Sir:

I am transmitting herewith two copies of a circular entitled "Why Not Shorten the Hours?" which is being distributed by the I. W. W. of this city.

Yours very truly,

Edward J. Brennan

EDWARD J. BRENNAN,
Special Agent in Charge.

JGT:K
Encls.
R-56-A

[illegible]

ALL [illegible] NED
DATE 8/26/82

RECORDED & INDEXED

JUN 3 1924

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE
MAY 23 1924
DIVISION

61-1225-83
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
MAY 22 1924 A. M
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
HOOVER
FILE